

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

KIM IL SUNG

THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY HAS INHERITED THE ANTI-JAPANESE ARMED STRUGGLE

Speech to Officers and Men of Unit No. 324
of the Korean People's Army
February 8, 1958

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CONTENTS

| | | |
|---|-------|----|
| 1 | | 1 |
| 2 | | 23 |
| 3 | | 40 |
| 4 | | 50 |

I have been authorized by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to visit you comrades serving in Unit No. 324, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I would like first to offer warm greetings to you, the soldiers of Unit No. 324, and through you, to all the officers and men of the heroic Korean People's Army which is made up of good sons and daughters of the Korean people and which defends our people's government, our people's democratic system and our socialist achievements.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to talk to you about a few problems.

1

Our People's Army has inherited the glorious anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The Korean People's Army was founded as a

regular army on February 8, 1948. But this does not mean that our people had their own army for the first time after the August 15 liberation. The Korean People's Army was founded ten years ago, but the Korean people had a genuine armed force which fought imperialism and the feudal forces as far back as 1932.

In the darkest period of Japanese imperialist rule, the staunch communists of our country, guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, organized an Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, the first contingent of the revolutionary people's armed forces in our country, from the progressive workers and peasants and patriotic youths who were opposed to Japanese imperialism and wanted the national independence and social emancipation of the Korean people.

Our People's Army was founded with these patriotic fighters of the anti-Japanese armed struggle as the backbone and on the basis of its revolutionary patriotic traditions and valuable experience. For this reason, the Korean People's Army is the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle.

It seems, however, that some people think that our People's Army is the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle only because people who participated in that struggle now serve in it. The People's Army is

the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle regardless of whether people who participated in that struggle now serve in it or not.

Why do we call the People's Army the glorious successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle? It is because in the days of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, the Korean people already had a people's army which championed the interests of the masses of the people, including the workers and peasants, instead of the interests of the landlords and capitalists, and opposed imperialism. In a word, our people have long had a real Marxist-Leninist army.

What does a Marxist-Leninist army fight for? It fights against imperialism, in the interests of the working people. Therefore, we call the People's Army the successor to the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle not merely because the people who participated in that struggle played a leading role at the time when the regular army was organized, but even more important, because the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army fought under the banner of Marxism-Leninism against Japanese imperialism, to defend the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people, and the People's Army has taken over such traditional feats.

It is true that the armies which fought against

Japanese imperialism included the “Righteous Volunteers’ Army”, the “Korean Independence Army” and the “Patriotic Volunteers’ Corps,” but they were all nationalist armies that championed the interests of the propertied class.

Since the anti-Japanese armed struggle was launched the Korean people acquired an army which, different from those armies, was inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology, which defended the interests of the working people and battled resolutely against imperialism.

Our People’s Army is not the successor to an army that fought in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. It is an army that has inherited the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army which, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideology, fought against imperialism in the interests of the working people, including workers and peasants. It is a great honour for us that our People’s Army is the successor to the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

What do we mean by the inheritance of revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army? We mean that the People’s Army has inherited the ideological system of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, its fine working methods and style.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas traditionally adopted a fighting spirit, by which they fought not for the landlords and capitalists but for the good of the working people, and always lived among the people and struggled hand in hand with the people. The ideology of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army was a Marxist-Leninist ideology and its aim was to strive for the establishment of a people's government which would fight imperialism and safeguard the interests of the working people.

In those days, the guerrillas, under the slogan that "As fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people," always loved and respected the people and fought bravely for the liberation of the country.

The guerrillas were not merely soldiers fighting the enemy; they were also information workers who educated and inspired the people, and also organizers who mobilized them. Wherever they went, they formed various local organizations such as the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, Anti-Japanese Association, Anti-Japanese Union, Women's Union, Anti-Japanese Youth League and Liberation Struggle Union. These organizations were closely rallied around the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, and the guerrillas

and the people were closely united.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas were able to wage a partisan struggle over a period of 15 years even though they did not have state power, as they fought for the people and had the full support and backing of the people.

There was a firm unity between superiors and subordinates in the anti-Japanese guerrilla units. This means that the guerrilla army was not an army based on the mercenary system, such as the army of the propertied class in which superiors oppressed and humiliated their subordinates.

The interests and purposes of the officers and men in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army were completely identical. In those days, all officers were promoted from soldiers, who were all the sons of the people. This was why there could not be any bitter feeling between the officers and men, and there was established a beautiful tradition of fighting together in close unity in the interests of the people, living together, and respecting and loving each other.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas did not join the guerrilla army at the request of others. They all came and joined voluntarily for the good of the people, for the people's government, to fight imperialism. Those

amongst them who had distinguished themselves in battle were selected as commanders. Therefore, the guerrilla units were firmly united and had a very strong spirit of mutual respect and comradeship.

There was a considerable number of other armies that fought against the Japanese army. There was the “Independence Army,” that operated in south Manchuria. But this army collapsed. In the “Independence Army”, the interests of officers and soldiers were not the same and those of the former conflicted with those of the people. Accordingly, they could not continue fighting for a long period.

But in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, the relationship between the officers and soldiers was more harmonious than that of blood brothers, and both superiors and their subordinates were closely united in mind and will.

Let me recall an incident which happened during the guerrilla struggle. Sometime round 1941, during the most difficult period in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we changed the line of our struggle. On the one hand, we trained many cadres in Soviet territory in anticipation of the future development of the revolution; while on the other, we switched over from large to small unit operations and intensified the

underground struggle with the aim of preserving our forces. In those days the Japanese imperialists stepped up their “punitive operations” and, therefore, it was very difficult to carry out large unit operations and an open struggle.

One day a small group consisting of three men went to a locality on a mission to set up an underground organization. The group got into difficulties with regard to food and other matters. The leader of the group started to show signs of indecision, unable to overcome the difficulties. One morning he seized the pistols his comrades had left behind when they went out to wash and urged them to surrender with him to the Japanese enemy. He told them: “It is claimed in the guerrilla army that there are conflicts between the Soviet Union and imperialism, and between colonies and imperialism, which will lead to a great future, and that, therefore, it is necessary to make preparations to meet the forthcoming great revolution by preserving the anti-Japanese armed forces, training cadres and extensively carrying out activities in local areas. But this is something which concerns the future, and that is hard to believe. The Soviet Union has concluded a neutrality pact with Japan. Who knows how many years have to pass until the victory of the revolution is

achieved? I've been with the guerrillas for ten years now, but I do not see any hope. Only fools will remain with them, but I can't do so any longer." In those days, the Japanese imperialists distributed many reactionary leaflets urging the anti-Japanese guerrilla units to surrender. When he was in Changchun even Choe Nam Son once distributed the leaflets which called for "surrender" in various places.

Then, the two other members of the group told him: "If you want to go, go alone. Why do you want us to join you, and why are you going to take away even our pistols? No matter what the prospects of the revolution may be, how can we go away, leaving our comrades with whom we have fought shoulder to shoulder for over ten years, only to save our own skins? Our sense of justice does not permit us to do so. Go alone, if you want to. Give us our pistols back. We will fight to the last."

But the coward said: "I won't go back, because I would be executed when you get back and report everything. I can't return the pistols to you right now, because you would use them against me. I've decided to go, anyway, but I'll not take part in the punitive operation against the guerrillas after my surrender. I'll hang your pistols on the bridge. Go and get them." Then, he ran away.

The two resolved to report the incident without delay to the guerrilla headquarters, though the deserter had promised he would not join the “punitive operation.” They went down the mountain after dark and found the two pistols hanging on the bridge. They picked them up and made their way to their headquarters, which had already been moved.

In those days it was a rule for the guerrillas to change the location of the headquarters after sending out a small detachment, and then to set up a liaison post there. So the two comrades waited for a contact. Their provisions having run out, they were almost starved. After they started to lose hope, they wrote a message on a tree trunk with a piece of charcoal saying that they had starved to death while the other one had surrendered. Then they lay down under the tree. Soon after, a liaison man arrived from the headquarters, and he carried them to the headquarters on his back.

These soldiers treasured comradeship and remained faithful to the revolution and their obligations.

In other armies there were cases of soldiers shooting their commanders to death and running away. But in our guerrilla army, this never happened.

As you see, the anti-Japanese guerrillas lived with the people and fought for the people and the

commanders and soldiers were firmly united. This is a fine tradition which we must not fail to carry on.

Another fine tradition created by the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle is that of the fighting spirit in overcoming difficulties. The anti-Japanese guerrillas waged arduous struggles for the victory of the revolution and for the liberation of the country.

It is not an easy task to overthrow the old social system and build a new society that brings everyone a happy life. This can be achieved only through an arduous struggle. It is impossible to express verbally all the difficulties involved in the guerrilla struggle.

Today the People's Army, as a regular army, receives sufficient supplies from the Party and the Government. But the guerrillas fought arduously for 15 long years, and not just for a year or two, surmounting all hardships. The guerrillas armed themselves with the weapons captured from the enemy; they used the food and clothes seized from the enemy, or relied on the help of the people.

It is not always so easy to continue valiant struggle steadfastly in any situation whether it is favourable or not. In the closing days of their rule the Japanese imperialists distributed leaflets among the guerrillas which read: "Your strength is like millet floating in

the sea. How can you fight against the Greater Empire of Japan?" Of course, it was very difficult for a small number of people to fight Japanese imperialism.

But the guerrillas, firmly enlightened with Marxist-Leninist ideology, were confident of the collapse of capitalism and certainty of a victory for socialism and communism. Therefore, they continued the arduous struggle in the face of all difficulties and at last achieved final victory.

Those who did not understand the Marxist-Leninist ideology could not foresee the downfall of Japanese imperialism. Such people lost confidence in the revolution and surrendered to the Japanese imperialists. There were even some who deserted a few days before the August 15 liberation. For this reason the problem of ideological consciousness is more important than anything else.

Our People's Army must adopt the revolutionary spirit of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who fought hard for the victory of the revolution with faith in Marxism-Leninism.

In its struggle, the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, as a revolutionary army of the working people and different from the nationalist army of the propertied class, strengthened international solidarity with the

Soviet and Chinese people and maintained close ties particularly with the Soviet Union. The anti-Japanese guerrillas belonged from the beginning to one and the same family of communists. The guerrillas defended the idea of Marx: “Workingmen of all countries, unite!” and firmly armed themselves with the idea of proletarian internationalism. This is another fine tradition of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army that the People’s Army should inherit.

I stress this today because it is necessary for the People’s Army, which emerged victorious in the war, to have a clear understanding of the great significance of inheriting the traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle in increasing its fighting efficiency to defend peace and safeguard socialist construction.

Anti-Party factionalists came out against our People’s Army inheriting the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. Why do they oppose this? Their aim is to prevent the People’s Army from becoming an army with a strong revolutionary spirit like the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

Should we become the successors of the “Independence Army” or “Patriotic Volunteers’ Corps”, which defended the interests of the propertied class, or the “Volunteers’ Army” or Kim Tu Bong’s

“Independence Union” which never engaged in any battle with the Japanese enemy, and fled at the mere sight of them? No, we cannot be successors to such non-Marxist armies.

The only traditions we should carry forward are the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army which fought to defend the interests of the working people under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Recently, the anti-Party factionalist Kim Ul Gyu demanded that our People’s Army be the successor to the peasant movement in Kilju and Myongchon. The peasant movement in Kilju and Myongchon, of course, was a worthy revolutionary struggle like those of other districts. However, in all respects, it was no more than a simple struggle waged for a few days by the peasants against the Japanese imperialists and landlords or a dispute involving tenants; it did not develop into an armed struggle. No one can say that the peasant movement in Kilju and Myongchon marked the beginning of the Korean people’s armed forces, or that the Korean people had their armed forces after that. All the peasants’ uprisings took place as a result of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

All the Korean people recognize the fact that our

People's Army inherited the revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. The heritage of such traditions is beneficial to us. There is nothing wrong about it.

Why do the anti-Party factionalists oppose this? Their purpose is to claim that no achievements were made by our country in the past and, if there already was, to divide the credit among all groups. Their false statements are utterly groundless.

The People's Army did not rise out of nothing; it was founded in 1948 to inherit the glorious revolutionary traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army and has grown into a reliable armed force of the Korean revolution.

When we speak of inheriting traditions, we do not mean indiscriminately taking over everything.

In China there were also diverse independence movements and armed struggles, but it was not until the Nanchang Uprising (August 1, 1927) that the Chinese People's Liberation Army was founded. This happened because the Chinese communists, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, took up arms for the first time only at that time, rose in revolt against imperialist aggression and organized the people's revolutionary armed forces.

We must add more splendour to the history of the People's Army which has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle.

The People's Army was organized by the Workers' Party of Korea as the revolutionary armed forces of the Party to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and socialist revolution in Korea.

One of the former cadres of the General Political Bureau maintained that the People's Army was not the army of the Workers' Party but the "army of the united front." Then, can the People's Army be an army of the Chongu Party or the Democratic Party? No, absolutely not.

The Korean People's Army is the armed forces of our Party assigned to fulfil the revolutionary tasks set forth by our Party.

Some people get confused over the fact that there was no Party organizations in the People's Army when it was formed and that it was only during the war that Party organizations were set up in it. Can we call the People's Army the "army of the united front" because we did not have Party organizations in it when it was founded? No, we cannot.

There are only two kinds of armies in the

present-day world. One is the army of the propertied class and the other, of the working class. These two classes, that is, the propertied class and the working class, are in conflict. Since the propertied class resorts to arms to maintain its grip to power, the working class needs armed forces in order to carry out a revolution to overthrow the propertied class and build a new society.

There can never be a neutral army that belongs neither to the propertied class nor to the working class.

Who is going to overthrow capitalism, build socialism and then communism in Korea? It is the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean working class. Therefore, the Korean People's Army, a Marxist-Leninist army, is the army of the Workers' Party of Korea.

In the People's Army there are only the Workers' Party organizations. Certainly, in the army, there is the Democratic Youth League, a mass organization which is guided by the Party. But under no circumstances do we allow organizations of other parties to exist in the army. There is nothing ambiguous about this. Those who talk ambiguously about this have ulterior motives. It is nothing but an attempt to divert the People's Army from Marxism-Leninism and change it into an army of the propertied class.

Our People's Army is led only by the Workers' Party of Korea. The Korean People's Army ensures with arms the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks set forth by the Party. Based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Party organized the People's Army to bring about the democratic revolution and carry out the socialist revolution. Nothing more can be said or considered in regard to this problem.

The Korean People's Army is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist army which is loyal only to the Workers' Party of Korea and which marches forward along the path of revolution under the sole leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, guards the fruits of revolution gained by the Party, and builds a new society by overthrowing the old one in a revolutionary manner. We should remain steadfast at this point, and we will not deviate even a little from this path.

The Korean People's Army should, therefore, unite more firmly behind the Party and make better ideological, combat and technical preparations for the accomplishment of the revolutionary tasks entrusted to it by our Party.

I deem it necessary today to put greater emphasis on this point because there are certain wrong ideas among members of the army.

The Korean People's Army has a glorious decade-long history. It has inherited the revolutionary traditions of the past anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle and has a glorious record of defeating the US imperialist army which had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world.

The Korean People's Army has now become a powerful army in all respects. In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle only small guerrilla units existed and in the early days following the founding of the regular army there were only a few combined units. But today the People's Army has grown into a reliable revolutionary force, a force of the Party and the Korean people that is powerful in all respects—be it numerical strength, technique or political preparedness.

The Syngman Rhee puppet army, of course, is larger than ours. But we can defeat it. In the days of the anti-Japanese struggle, the guerrillas were, as the Japanese themselves said, literally "a drop in the sea" compared with the Japanese imperialists.

Today, the balance of forces between us and the enemy is quite different. The People's Army is a powerful army which has a memorable history of battles and a wealth of combat experience. Our People's Army, though smaller than that of the enemy,

has incomparable superiority over the latter. Our army is an army which is inspired by the progressive ideology of Marxism-Leninism, an invincible army which is provided with excellent technical equipment. The People's Army is an army led by the Workers' Party. The superiority of our army lies precisely in this fact.

It is not an exaggeration to say that practically none of our officers had experienced major battles, such as those fought by the regular army, before June 25, 1950. If there were any such experienced soldiers, they were only the cadres who fought battles against the Japanese army during the guerrilla struggle. The experience gained by the guerrillas in the battle against the Japanese army cannot be compared with the experience gained in large-scale modern warfare. In the period of peaceful construction before the war, our army only underwent field training; it did not have actual combat experience. It can be said that at that time almost none of our soldiers had ever seen shells exploding and rifles being fired in actual battle.

But now the situation is quite different. Today our army is a powerful experienced army which has won battles against a strong enemy. Most of our officers and men have combat experience. Our army has many

cadres who had gained experience in the long guerrilla struggle, and numerous cadres who were tested in the Fatherland Liberation War. I believe that all the comrades present here had advanced as far as the Raktong River. This is the most valuable asset of the People's Army.

Our drivers are also far better than those of the Syngman Rhee army or the US forces. If we and the enemy had been placed the other way round, as regards the air force, during the last war, the Syngman Rhee army would not have held out. If drivers of the Syngman Rhee puppet army are ordered to drive without headlights at night, with aircraft flying overhead, they would never do it. However this presents no problem to our drivers.

The ideological consciousness of our army drivers is different from that of the drivers of the Syngman Rhee puppet army. The soldiers of the puppet army do not know what they are fighting for because they are mercenaries. But our army is strong because it knows that it is fighting for the workers and peasants, for the country and the people. The Syngman Rhee army is a tool in the hands of the US enemy and is forced to fight in the forefront. But our People's Army is an army formed of soldiers who plan battles

on their own and fight voluntarily.

Our army has grown strong, both politically and ideologically, and gained much combat experience. The situation was very difficult when the enemy landed in Inchon during the war. We did not have platoon leaders to organize units. Students who had never heard guns being fired were sent to the front after one month of training, and so, naturally, they could not fight well. Now the situation is different. If any one of our noncommissioned officers is ordered to carry out a defence operation with 30 men right now, they will be able to fight well. Even in those days, the enemy managed to land in Inchon only on the third day. Now that we have much experienced cadres we are fully capable of foiling any invasion attempt by the enemy.

Why then do we continue to give importance to the cadre army? We do so with the aim of passing on the combat experience to recruits who have not participated in battle, and thus training them to become cadres capable of leading a battle.

The past ten-year history of the People's Army is a most glorious one. The People's Army has today grown into an army which is fully capable of defending the country's independence, peace and socialism. Our army has become incomparably strong in number,

technique, consciousness and combat experience.

We are strong enough to successfully carry out the Korean revolution. In the northern half we have a powerful revolutionary democratic foundation, a population of 10 million, one million Party members and millions of Democratic Youth League members, apart from a strong combat-experienced army. Even in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle when the enemy called us “a drop in the sea” we managed to defeat the Japanese imperialists. How then can we fail to successfully carry out the revolution with such strength as we possess today? There can be no pessimism, but only optimism for us.

2

Under the leadership of our Party, our people made remarkable achievements in the rebuilding and development of the national economy in the years after the war.

Having successfully accomplished the Three-Year Plan, we have embarked on the task of fulfilling the First Five-Year Plan. Although the First Five-Year Plan has not yet been made public, we succeeded in

reaching targets for 1957 and are now carrying out the plan for 1958 in accordance with the decisions of the Third Party Congress.

We are making preparations to submit the Five-Year Plan for discussion at a Party conference this year and to endorse it at a session of the Supreme People's Assembly in the first half of the year.

Today industry and agriculture are developing at a much faster rate than was envisaged in the draft Five-Year Plan. In particular, as a result of the unparalleled enthusiasm displayed by our working people on their jobs, in accordance with the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we exceeded the targets of the national economic plan for 1957.

In 1957, industrial output was 44 per cent higher than in 1956, and 2.8 times the prewar level. In the agricultural sector, 3 200 000 tons of grain were produced in 1957 as compared with 2 670 000 tons before the war. This is the biggest harvest in the history of our country. In agriculture we have basically solved the grain problem during the past years. In the northern half, the present average grain yield per person of the population amounts to more than 350 kilogrammes. Thus, industry and agriculture in our country are now

developing at a fast rate, unprecedented in the whole world.

As regards the value of total output, industry accounts for approximately 63 per cent and agriculture 37 per cent, the proportion of industry being already far greater than that of agriculture. So, our country is changing rapidly from one with an outdated agriculture into an independent industrial-agrarian state.

Giving priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture has been the basis of our Party's economic policy in the postwar period. This line of postwar economic construction was decided upon at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee in 1953.

This economic policy is quite correct. If we had not done so, we would have failed to carry out the difficult tasks of rapidly improving the people's standard of living which had deteriorated as a result of the war and, at the same time, of strengthening the economic foundations of our country.

Unless priority is given to heavy industry, it is impossible to develop light industry and agriculture. We cannot increase grain production and extensively develop agriculture unless we build many irrigation

systems and supply large quantities of fertilizers and farm machines to the countryside. In order to increase grain production in our country, which has a limited area of arable land, it is necessary to raise the per-unit-area yields by supplying fertilizer in large quantities, building many irrigation systems and producing many farm machines.

Irrigation projects need transformers, motors, reinforcement rods, cement, electricity and so on, all of which must be produced by heavy industry. Without developing heavy industry, it is impossible to manufacture such things as cement, reinforcement rods, copper wire, transformers and motors. The great success in agriculture is attributed to the fact that we have given preference to the development of heavy industry which enabled us to rebuild or construct cement, fertilizer and machine-building factories and supply the countryside with large quantities of pumps, motors, transformers, electric wire, water-pumps, cement, fertilizers, farm machines, etc., and that, at the same time, we have boldly undertaken the Phyongnam irrigation project and many others in North and South Hwanghae provinces and in various other districts.

In future we will undertake more work to irrigate fields other than paddy fields. The state continues to

increase investment in this sector.

If we had to buy fertilizer from other countries instead of having reconstructed the fertilizer factory, it would cost us a lot of money and foreign suppliers would not readily comply with our order. We do not have the money to purchase large quantities of fertilizer, either. But, as we have rebuilt the fertilizer factory, we are now able to produce more than 400 000 tons of fertilizer a year and supply them to the countryside.

In this way, preferential reconstruction of heavy industry enabled us to develop agriculture and increase the per-unit-area yields. From this it follows that heavy industry is essential for the development of agriculture.

This is also the case with light industry. Light industry includes the food-processing and textile industries which solve the problems of food and clothing. These all depend on the development of heavy industry and agriculture. Light industry, too, has made great progress in the postwar period.

Before liberation, the Japanese imperialists pursued a colonial plunder policy in our country and, accordingly, they did not develop light industry. The Japanese imperialists robbed Korea of its raw materials while at the same time they sold the country

their goods at high prices. A few textile mills in south Korea were the only light industry factories that existed in our country before liberation. As the country is divided, we are unable to make use of the light industry in the southern half. In the northern half there was practically no light industry. There were only two small textile mills, one in Sariwon and the other in Sinuiju.

But in the postwar period we built a big new textile mill in Pyongyang. Before the war north Korea produced 9 million metres of fabrics each year. The average output at that time was less than one metre per person. But now we produce over 100 million metres, that is, nine to ten metres per person. By the end of this year, the figure will go up to ten or eleven metres.

Unless we develop heavy industry on a priority basis, we cannot supply raw fibre materials to light industry. For the production of artificial and synthetic fibres, it is necessary to develop the chemical industry. The development of the chemical industry requires the development of the power and coal industries. Coal and electricity are indispensable for operating factories. It is clear from this that chemical fibre, a raw material for light industry, cannot be obtained either, without developing heavy industry. The textile industry needs a

large quantity of caustic soda, which is also produced by the chemical industry.

Without heavy industry, it is impossible to develop the fishing industry, even though we are surrounded by resourceful seas. We have to build fishing vessels, and we need shipyards in order to build them. Many ships were destroyed during the war. But we are now able to land hundreds of thousands of tons of fish. This, too, is attributed to the construction of many fishing vessels at our shipyards in Chongjin, Nampho and Rajin.

As for the building of houses we need cement, iron and lumber. These, too, cannot be produced without heavy industry. How can you expect to build good houses when you do not have cement, reinforcement rods, electrical equipment, sanitary installations and pipes?

But as we have reconstructed the Hwanghae Iron Works, Kim Chaek Iron Works, Chongjin Steel Plant, Kangson Steel Plant and Songjin Steel Plant by developing heavy industry on a priority basis, we are able to produce pig iron, reinforcement rods, pipes and other steel materials and thus build modern houses with them. We have built many modern houses in the past. Since we have already laid the foundations for the construction industry, we can build many more houses

in future. Had we not done this during the Three-Year Plan, we would not have been able to build anything other than huts in our age when a new culture is being established.

It is beyond dispute that the economic policy of our Party has been correct.

Nevertheless, the anti-Party factional elements criticized and opposed the economic policy of our Party. Their declarations are utterly devoid of any theoretical justification. They did not study the economy of our country and, making unfounded criticism on the Party work, they claimed that priority should not be given to the development of heavy industry.

Originally our country had big power stations, chemical factories and iron and steel works. It is not permissible to abandon all these things without reconstructing and developing them. We have some foundations and conditions, so why cannot we ensure priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of agriculture and light industry?

The anti-Party factional elements said it was impossible. They proposed that instead of reconstructing and developing industry and agriculture, we should use foreign assistance, that is, 1 000 million

rubles from the Soviet Union, 8 000 000 million *yuan* from China and aid from other socialist countries, to buy consumer goods such as rice and fabrics for a period of a few years.

The Party Central Committee rejected this. If we had used all the foreign aid for food and fabrics what on earth could we have done afterwards? It was a step in the right direction to build factories and find a way of increasing industrial and agricultural production in order to create conditions for a better life in future, although we had some difficulties at that time. Is it right to go begging after using all the aid for food? No one is likely to give more aid to such people.

The real intention of the anti-Party groups is to place our country in a difficult position and destroy the revolution. Their declarations are counter-revolutionary. It goes without saying that the anti-Party groups opposed the correct policy of the Party. And even some of the friendly parties had doubts about our Party's economic policy. When the Three-Year Plan was announced, some dubious people in the friendly parties accused us of indulging in day dreams. But it was not a dream; it was actually feasible.

We have consistently adhered to the policy of giving priority to heavy industry and, at the same time, rapidly

developing light industry and agriculture. All our achievements are attributed to the fact that we have made economical use of our natural resources and of the aid from fraternal countries and devoted our principal efforts to building foundations for heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. Results have convincingly proved that the economic policy of the Party has been fully correct.

What then is the basis of the Party's economic policy in the First Five-Year Plan? The central task of this plan is to further reinforce the economic foundations of socialism and basically solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people in the northern half. For the accomplishment of this task, we must continue to put emphasis on heavy industry, simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture.

In the sector of heavy industry, we must rapidly develop power, coal, metal and chemical industries, and in particular the machine-building industry.

In the agricultural sector, the main stress must be put on grain production and, at the same time, stockbreeding, industrial-crop production, fruit growing, silk raising, etc., must be developed.

In order to enable all Koreans to have rice meals, it is necessary to produce at least 3 million tons of rice. We must strive to put 500 000 hectares of paddy fields under full irrigation, expand their area to about 600 000 hectares and increase the per-unit-area yields, thus producing far more rice than at present by the end of the First Five-Year Plan.

We have also laid foundations for developing stockbreeding. As a result, we recently substantially cut the price of meat. An annual production of 200 000-300 000 tons of meat in the years to come will make it possible to supply an average 20-30 kilogrammes per person. When we add 600 000 tons of fish to that, our living standard will improve considerably. This is only possible if the Party properly organizes work and gives good guidance.

Increased production of industrial crops is important in agriculture. In order to solve the clothing problem, it is first necessary to obtain raw fibre material by further developing cotton cultivation and sericulture. Along with this, oil-bearing crops such as castor bean, sunflower and sesame should be cultivated on a wider scale and thus production of oil, soap, etc., should be further increased.

Then there is the fruit growing sector which should

be further developed. As a result of a campaign to increase orchards, we already obtained 30 000 hectares of land last year alone. It is quite possible to reclaim 100 000 hectares of land during the Five-Year Plan period.

In the villages throughout the country, a mass campaign is now under way to expand irrigation facilities, increase the production of compost, improve the quality of seeds and introduce advanced farming methods.

The most important factor for the major achievements we have made in agriculture is the great victory in the socialist transformation of this sector. We succeeded in accomplishing agricultural cooperativization within three to four years after the war without any problems. In the agricultural cooperative movement, we adopted the policy of positively developing cooperatives on a wide scale, while gradually gaining experience and training cadres through the experimental stage. As a result, at present 95.6 per cent of all peasant households are members of cooperatives. Socialist cooperativization in agriculture has thus been nearly completed.

Some peasants are still not members of cooperatives. They are the peasants who are scattered

in mountain areas, or speculators living in cities or county seats, who are engaged partly in farming and partly in trade. There are others who are well-to-do peasants, or people who oppose cooperativization. The Party follows the policy of making these people change their mind not by force but by means of explanation and persuasion, by convincing them with facts of advantages of the cooperative economy.

We should see to it that the living standard of every cooperative member reaches that of the former well-to-do middle peasant. When each peasant household starts receiving, as its share, an average of 2.5 tons of rice and 25 000-30 000 *won* in cash we could say that its standard of living has reached the level of the former well-to-do middle peasant. It can be said that the standard of living of the middle peasant has now been generally reached. But this is not enough. Our immediate aim is to increase the income of cooperative members to the level of the former well-to-do middle peasant.

An important task confronting agricultural cooperatives is to continue to give a boost to agricultural production and thus increase the income of members and further accumulate their common property. Along with this, it is necessary to intensify

efforts to educate the peasants in socialist ideology, with a view to consolidating the victory achieved in the socialist transformation of the countryside.

Under the conditions in which the form of agricultural economy has been transformed the immediate, important tasks are to remould the consciousness of the peasants along socialist lines and gradually carry out the technological reconstruction of agriculture.

Light industry, too, has big prospects of development. It is important to produce a large quantity of synthetic and artificial fibres by continuously developing the chemical industry. In our country which has a small area of arable land, we cannot solve the question of fibres only by relying on cotton. Hence it is necessary to produce a large quantity of synthetic and artificial fibres to augment the production of fabrics. By the end of the First Five-Year Plan, per-capita production of fabrics will reach 18 metres. This is a high figure and represents a great leap forward.

Workers and technicians in light industry have pledged to the state to produce 10 000 million *won* of goods above the plan targets this year.

It is also necessary to develop the food-processing

industry. This industry is the most outdated branch of our economy at present.

For the acceleration of socialist construction, it is necessary to improve the people's living standard and give jobs to more women. This requires enabling them to organize their life in a better way. To this end, the food-processing industry should be developed so that processed meat, vegetables, fruit and such things could be supplied to the population. When we plant fruit trees over 100 000 hectares of land, we cannot consume all the fruit in the harvesting season. We should dry or can fruit and vegetables in order to supply them to the population all year round.

It is also important to increase the production of essential commodities. We cannot yet produce all such commodities by ourselves. We should produce a wide range of daily essentials and improve their quality.

The housing problem is as important as those concerning food and clothing. We have built many houses in the postwar period, but we still need more houses.

Workers in the construction industry are now striving to implement the Party's construction policy. It is important to quickly build many convenient and durable houses with less materials and at a low cost.

This is the basic policy of the Party for the construction industry.

Some people say: “We are told to quickly build many convenient and durable houses at a low cost. But how can we manage this with all existing difficult conditions?” You can if you show enthusiasm and initiative. Tackle it, and you will succeed to do it.

In the past anti-Party factionalists in the construction and building-materials industries, criticized and strongly opposed the policy of our Party. The October 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee exposed and condemned the harmful deeds of anti-Party factionalists in the field of construction. The Party explained thoroughly to the builders its construction policy and conducted a political and ideological struggle to eliminate the harmful effects of actions by anti-Party factionalists in the field of construction.

The Presidium of the Party Central Committee inspected work in the field of construction and decided to cut down the cost of construction per square metre to 1 800 *won*. This was done because the Party properly organized and mobilized the workers, technicians and office employees and took advantage of their creative enthusiasm. Our builders eliminated the harmful

effects of the behaviour by anti-Party factionalists and responded to the call of the Party, and as a result, they have managed to build a modern two-room family flat covering an area of 35 square metres at a cost of 50 000-60 000 *won*. In building army barracks, it is also necessary to use reserves in accordance with the decision of the Presidium.

The Third Party Congress decided to build houses over a 7 200 000 square-metre area during the Five-Year Plan. And the designers and workers have decided that it is possible to build 10 000 000 square metres of housing with the same funds in towns and workers' districts. In Pyongyang a campaign is being launched to build multi-storey apartments for 17 000 families this year.

We plan to build 200 000 houses in the countryside during the First Five-Year Plan. But this does not mean the final solution of the housing problem in the countryside. Peasant households number one million, and 60 per cent of them need new houses. When we build 200 000 houses in a second five-year plan period and a similar number in a third five-year plan period, tile-roofed houses will replace nearly all of our farm houses.

These are the Party's policies with regard to the

development of industry and agriculture, and the construction of houses.

Further details pertaining to the Five-Year Plan will be discussed at a Party conference. When we accomplish the First Five-Year Plan, socialist construction in our country will have made giant strides forward.

3

The building of socialism in the northern half of Korea provides a solid guarantee for the reunification of the country. For the attainment of the peaceful reunification of the country, it is important above all to show the advantages of the socialist system established in the northern half. All the people in the southern half must thus be fully convinced of the advantage of the system established in the northern half. This will promote the reunification of the country.

Everyone knows that Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik were die-hard nationalists who had been dead-set against communism in the past. But they finally arrived at a compromise with us in 1948. When Kim Ku came

and saw things in north Korea, he said: “I now realize that genuine communists are here. Communists are genuine patriots, indeed. We oppose the United States. We fully support those of you who are patriots.” And when leaving for south Korea, he had this to say: “I wish to be here in north Korea. But if I stay here, they will say I have been detained in north Korea. So I have no choice but to go back to south Korea. But I will never work for the Americans. I will tell the people that north Korea pursues a correct policy and that the people are happy. I will come again when I find it impossible to continue living in south Korea. I hope you will give me an orchard then.”

On his return to south Korea, Kim Ku, once a die-hard opponent of communism, took a stand against US imperialism and propagated the correctness of our policy among youths. As a result, even those who had had an erroneous idea of communism gradually came to understand it better, and this finally led the Americans to assassinate him. Kim Ku did wrong things in the past, but it is true that he was doing what was right in the last days of his life.

Even a man like Kim Ku supported us after he witnessed such construction work in the northern half. Needless to say, the masses of the people in south

Korea will support us and rise against the Syngman Rhee regime when they become aware of the real state of affairs in the northern half. The overwhelming majority of workers and peasants in south Korea support us as we have common interests. Those who oppose us are only a handful of reactionaries and the victims of malicious propaganda and deception.

When the border between north and south is opened and the people of south Korea could freely travel to the northern half and see what we have done, they will find an independent economy here, an economy that does not depend on foreign countries.

We have now introduced compulsory primary education and by the end of the First Five-Year Plan all the children and youths of Korea will receive compulsory secondary education as well. This is the way to develop our national culture, the way to turn our country into a civilized one.

All the workers and peasants in the northern half live a decent life free from the problem of unemployment—doing their jobs well, having good meals, being well clothed and living in good houses. South Korea has 1 130 000 unemployed persons and when those who are employed on part-time basis are added, the figure reaches over 3 000 000.

Paddy fields in south Korea cover an area of 1 100 000 hectares of land which is twice as much as ours. But the rice harvest last year was no more than 15 million *sok* although it is said to have increased by 10 per cent. If considered in terms of tonnage, this means 2 200 000 tons. Even when minor grain and summer crops are included, the harvest does not exceed 3 000 000 tons. South Korea has a population twice the size of ours, so how can they get along with this? We are self-sufficient in food, but south Korea is not. Consequently, south Korea turns to the Americans to obtain grain from them—rotten maize, barley and wheat. But even these are almost beyond the reach of the peasants. The number of peasant households which abandon farming and are without food is increasing year after year.

Which road will the peasants in the southern half choose when they compare our constantly developing socialist agricultural sector with agriculture in the southern half? There is not a shadow of doubt that they will follow the road we are taking.

The living conditions of the south Korean workers are just as miserable as those of the peasants. You can easily imagine the present plight of the south Korean workers when you recall the miserable life of the

workers under Japanese imperialist rule. The south Korean workers are exploited and oppressed more cruelly than under Japanese rule. Far from enjoying freedom and rights, they even find it difficult to keep on living.

Under such conditions, which system and which policy will the south Korean workers choose when they join us after the barriers between north and south are torn down? They will never vote for the corrupt dictatorship of Syngman Rhee. They will all raise their hands in favour of the socialist system. So the greater our achievements in socialist construction, the faster the reunification of the country will be attained.

Last February 5, a Cabinet meeting again put forward a proposal for the peaceful reunification of the country. Some people would ask why we repeated the same thing, but our reunification proposal is only just and, therefore, we must be persistent in our efforts to propose it.

The Korean Armistice Agreement provides for the convening of a higher level political conference with the participation of representatives of north and south Korea, and representatives of the countries concerned, to discuss the question of peaceful reunification. This decision, however, has not been effected owing to the

manoeuvring of the US imperialists. Later, our Government delegates took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference, and at that time they advanced a proposal similar to that put forward in the recent statement of the Government of the Republic. But the conference failed owing to the opposition of Dulles, the so-called “delegates of the member states of the UN Forces” which took part in the aggressive war in Korea and the Syngman Rhee clique.

In the years that followed, the situation in south Korea worsened. The US imperialists transferred the “UN Command” from Japan to south Korea, enlarged the south Korean puppet army and now they have brought in atomic weapons and are conducting offensive atomic exercises. The Americans shoot Koreans dead almost every day; they have ruined south Korea’s economy and pushed the workers and peasants into extreme poverty.

We can no longer tolerate such a state of affairs. So we have issued another statement with a view to achieving the peaceful reunification of the country and relieving the south Korean people from such hardships.

We demand that a solution to the Korean question be found by the Koreans themselves following the

withdrawal of all foreign troops. That is, our demand is to solve the question through negotiations between north and south Korea after the withdrawal of both the Chinese People's Volunteers and the US army. When the US army pulls out, the south Korean authorities, under the pressure of the people, will be compelled to enter into negotiations with us.

Our aim is to negotiate. We declare that the freedom of activities of political parties and social organizations should be guaranteed and that elections be held in north and south Korea. What we mean is that Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party will be free to carry out activities in north Korea and, in return, activities of the Workers' Party in south Korea should not be disrupted. Probably, even if Syngman Rhee were to organize the Liberal Party in the northern half, only former landlords whose land was confiscated would become members. But no one in his right mind would join the Liberal Party. The number of members would perhaps be only a few thousands.

But our Workers' Party will certainly gain ground in south Korea. Our Party will advocate distribution of land to the peasants, construction of irrigation projects for them, introduction of an eight-hour workday and social insurance systems for the workers, and the

building of many holiday homes. The people will actively support our stand. So, why should we be afraid of elections?

Syngman Rhee will, of course, ignore our proposal. He demands that “elections” be held only in the northern half under the “UN” supervision because he insists that the “elections” already held in south Korea are effective. How can we accept this?

We call for democratic elections, which means holding elections under conditions in which political parties and social organizations are guaranteed freedom of activities. We want that both sides be free to make speeches before the masses and have freedom of activities and that free elections be held. Syngman Rhee fears these things. He fears all words which the people like to hear, such as democracy, freedom, peace and reunification. The people will support us. Once the US army withdraws, Syngman Rhee will be forced to enter into negotiations with us under the pressure of the people.

We have reduced the People’s Army by 80 000 men. Syngman Rhee must also do the same, instead of keeping an army of 700 000 men.

The strength of Syngman Rhee’s army is insignificant. It has many internal problems. The

relationship between the superior and the subordinate in this army is not like ours, for the officers are the sons of the landlords and capitalists, while the soldiers are sons of the workers and peasants.

When the strength of the armies of north and south is reduced to the same level and the people, including the soldiers, are permitted to travel freely in peace, many people in south Korea will not support Syngman Rhee but will follow us.

Our stand is justified. Our proposals also have the approval of the south Korean people and the support of people throughout the world.

Following the publication of our Government statement, the Chinese Government yesterday issued a statement in which it expressed its readiness to hold negotiations with the Korean Government on the question of withdrawing the Chinese People's Volunteers, and also demanded the withdrawal of the US army from south Korea. A Government delegation from the People's Republic of China, led by Premier Zhou Enlai, will visit Korea soon. We will then discuss the question of the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers. The Chinese People's Volunteers are expected to return to their country even if the US army refuses to pull out.

There is no reason why we cannot continue to defend our socialist system on our own after the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers. We are fully able to guarantee national defence. Our People's Army is not technically inferior to the enemy; it is a revolutionary army which is ideologically strong. Our army, enlightened by Marxist-Leninist ideology, is fully capable of fighting against great odds with only a small force. Though numerically larger, the Syngman Rhee puppet army is disorderly and has no advantage, technically or in combat experience, at all over our army. The Syngman Rhee army is a mercenary army which is politically and ideologically weak.

We can do well even after the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers. We can successfully repel any enemy invasion on our own.

The withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers will be a heavy blow to the enemy at a time when we call for the peaceful solution to the Korean question.

There is no reason whatsoever for the US army to remain in south Korea. The US army must get out at once. After the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers, we will call even louder: "US army, get out of Korea!"

As the Chinese People's Volunteers may withdraw after the forthcoming talks between the governments of Korea and China, we must make ideological preparations and organize all work in anticipation of their pullout.

In order to enable the People's Army, with its own strength, to protect the socialist achievements, safeguard the people's government and firmly secure our defence, repelling the intruding enemy, it is necessary, above all, to intensify the political and ideological education of our soldiers. Armaments like guns and aircraft are, of course, important too, but still more important is the strengthening of the political and ideological education of servicemen.

We must see, in the first place, that they have a correct understanding of the peaceful reunification of the country. Only when the People's Army is strengthened can we preserve peace and achieve peaceful reunification. It seems that some comrades believe that peaceful reunification will make members of the army redundant. This is a big mistake.

The more the Party and the Government call for peaceful reunification, the stronger should be our People's Army and the firmer its ideological preparedness. If the combat capabilities of the People's Army weaken, peaceful negotiations cannot be conceivable and the enemy will try to defeat us.

Only while we remain strong, will the enemy be deterred from attacking us and will peaceful reunification be achieved. Even if the enemy dares to attack us, we can strike back. So there is no reason why we should slacken our combat training only because we insist for peaceful reunification. You must not allow yourselves under any circumstances to become lazy and negligent. All officers and men in the People's Army should keep this in mind.

The important thing in ideological work is to intensify education in socialist patriotism. I have stressed this point time and again. This is the slogan the Party put forward right after the armistice.

Each and every man, officer and general should clearly understand whom they serve and what they are fighting for. Syngman Rhee is also talking about "patriotism." But the patriotism we mean is not the patriotism of the capitalists and landlords, but socialist patriotism. We need patriotism to defend the interests

of the workers, peasants and all other working people and to safeguard their socialist achievements.

While literally selling the country to the United States, Syngman Rhee urges the puppet army men to become loyal subjects like Ulji Mun Dok. They call us “Reds” and are spreading false propaganda against us by saying that we are “stooges” of the Soviet Union.

We have the same ideology as the Soviet people and, like the Soviet Union, we are building a social system free from exploitation of man by man, in which the workers and peasants are their own masters. It follows from such ideas that we support and defend the Soviet Union.

For whom and for what are we fighting? We fight for the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people and we fight for socialism, and in defence of socialist gains. It is, therefore, necessary to convince the soldiers that ours is not a bourgeois patriotism, but a patriotism for the socialist country where power is in the hands of the workers and peasants.

Only when they are fully aware of socialist patriotism, will every officer and man understand for whom and for what they are shedding their blood, and

fight courageously against the enemy.

The servicemen should be encouraged to show loyalty to the Party. The Korean People's Army is the army of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The Workers' Party of Korea leads the people in the struggle to carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution to liberate the people in the southern half from the oppression of US imperialism and feudal forces, and to fulfil the socialist revolution in the northern half. Therefore, the People's Army, the army of the Workers' Party, should fully understand that it is a revolutionary armed force which must contribute to the fulfilment of the tasks of carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in Korea and achieving the reunification and independence of the country, while defending the socialist revolution and the socialist achievements.

It is necessary to strengthen Party work in the People's Army so that it will become more loyal to the Party. As we found out during the inspection conducted by the Party Central Committee, Party work in the army has many shortcomings.

First of all, Party members and servicemen in the army were not well educated to carry out the

revolutionary tasks and policy of the Party. Anti-Party factionalists, particularly Kim Ul Gyu, Choe Wal Jong and others, plotted to destroy the Party ideas with parochialism and factionalism in the General Political Bureau and by propagating the wrong “theory” which could cause great confusion in political work.

The anti-Party factionalists ignored the revolutionary patriotic traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army and insisted that the People’s Army was not the Party’s army but an “army of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea.” They attempted to destroy the loyalty to the Party of hard-core members, selected from each cell and sent by the Party to serve in the People’s Army at a time when it was being set up and also destroy the loyalty of members with the strongest Party spirit who had advanced as far as the Raktong River and then returned fighting their way back across rugged mountain regions, suffering great hardship. They also attempted to separate the Party from the army.

The central figures leading the recently exposed anti-Party factionalists are former members of the New Democratic Party. Kim Tu Bong, Choe Chang Ik, among others, are all members of the New Democratic Party. The intention of the anti-Party factionalists was

to eliminate hard-core members who originated in the Communist Party and to establish within our Party the influence of those who originated from the New Democratic Party, that is, men of petty-bourgeois origin. It does not mean, of course, that all former members of the New Democratic Party have this tendency.

The anti-Party factional elements intended to turn our Party into a petty-bourgeois party and to pursue a neutral policy towards both the Soviet Union and the United States, and attempted to push our country along a lawless and dangerous path.

The former Director of the General Political Bureau Choe Jong Hak took no definite actions to fully expose and condemn the criminal deeds of the anti-Party factional elements and to arouse hostility against such elements from Party members and soldiers.

Party work in the army has many shortcomings. But the People's Army is formed of reliable Party elements, so, most members, except a few who wavered, were not influenced.

Another serious matter was that the decisions of the Party Central Committee and its directives to the People's Army were not properly spread and explained within the army. The General Political Bureau

submitted false reports to the Party Central Committee, claiming that everything was going well.

The Party organizational system in the army was also not correct: It enabled many officers to keep afar from Party life and to place themselves beyond the control of the Party. Consequently, some officers became arrogant and warlordism grew among them.

The one-man management system is enforced in the army, but no commanding officer should place himself beyond Party control. When they are not under the control of the Party, some people become negligent and corrupt; they make their men chop firewood, fail to keep discipline and commit various irregularities. There are cases of officers who are offended and make complaints even when they are slightly criticized.

There are cases where officers neglect the education of those who fought well against the enemy during the war and then punish them outright when they make mistakes. The Party Central Committee is very sad to see brave combatants, who had fought so courageously, shed their blood and risked their lives, being treated like that.

Why are those people who fought so well treated in such a manner without day-to-day guidance or education simply because they made mistakes at some

time? This is not the way to educate these fine people.

All this is due to the failure to strengthen Party life.

The Rules of our Party explicitly point out that every Party member should thoroughly follow Party life, and the documents of the Third Party Congress emphatically set forth the task of observing the Leninist standards of Party life. This task, however, is neglected in the army. There are Party members who have attended only one Party meeting in a year. Commanders, chiefs of staff and heads of political departments of army corps are criticized slightly only when they attend officers' training courses organized at the Ministry of Defence. Except for this, there is nothing that guides, educates and controls them.

We believe that the Party Central Committee has made a timely and proper inspection. It is necessary to initiate in future a system of Party committees in the People's Army—from the Ministry of Defence down to divisions and regiments.

All the Party members, without exception, should take part in Party life, receive education in the Party organizations, and regard it as the highest honour and duty to be loyal to the Party.

To implement the decision of the Party Central Committee in conformity with their actual conditions,

the Party committees in the army should discuss it and take measures for its implementation. It is the most important task confronting the Party organizations in the army to normalize Party life and completely restore the standards of Party life. Only by carrying out this task, will it be possible to educate everybody in the Party, from the generals down to soldiers, through loyalty to the Party and to make even servicemen who are not Party members fight for the Workers' Party of Korea.

All military men, united behind the Party Central Committee, should determinedly fight against the anti-Party elements, including those who seek parochialism.

Parochialism is the hotbed of factionalism. In the General Political Bureau Kim U1 Gyu carried out factional activities with people from Kilju and Myongchon.

Those who claim that they were engaged in a revolutionary struggle at home must follow Party life more strictly. They were imprisoned for having organized tenant farmers' struggles and only shouted *manse*, but they had no experience in Party life. While in prison they might have been mentally tested, but they had no opportunity to receive political education.

Nepotism and parochialism which lead to the practice of going about in a group of close people and seeking a high position while neglecting study despite having no education, provide a hotbed for factionalism. Parochialism and factionalism should not be tolerated.

Anything that goes against the Party policy must be thoroughly opposed. There should not be a single alien element in the People's Army since it protects the Party with arms. A vigorous ideological campaign should, therefore, continue within the army.

Education of soldiers in the Marxist-Leninist ideology should be intensified. It is important to arm the servicemen with the world outlook of dialectical materialism. Only with the world outlook of dialectical materialism that new things triumph and old things disappear, can everybody fight valiantly to the last, overcoming all difficulties, and clearly understand the trend of developments even in a confused situation.

As the declaration of the international Moscow conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out, socialism has now grown incomparably stronger and capitalism is declining further. The socialist camp prevails decisively over the forces of imperialism with regard to the number of people and scientific and technological progress. Every

soldier and Party member should have faith in the final victory for socialism.

When you study the declaration of the Moscow conference, you will find that our Party policy has been correct on the questions of combatting dogmatism and revisionism or defending the Soviet Union and appraising imperialism. Therefore, when you study the declaration of the Moscow conference and the documents of the Enlarged December 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, you should not fail to study them in conformity with the policy of our Party.

It is always necessary to look back on the path our Party has taken. Then your confidence in the Party Central Committee will become stronger, your sense of pride in being members of the Workers' Party will grow even more and you will be more convinced that all the work carried out by our Party leads the people to victory.

Next, training should be stepped up in the army. Ours is an age when amazing technical progress is being made. Modern arms should be prepared to keep pace with the development of the times. The Party Central Committee gives much money to our army. We cannot fight the enemy well without modern

technology, however high our consciousness. Therefore, the People's Army should be strengthened with the latest military technology. Along with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, modern military technology should be introduced.

The technological level of artillery and all other branches of the armed forces should be improved, and the military personnel should master their arms.

In order to fight back powerful enemy forces with a small army it is important to reinforce fortifications. Fortifications are important particularly in modern warfare.

Following their humiliating defeat in the past war the Americans said that "modern technology came off a loser to the technology of the feudal age." They said so because we fought from strong fortifications and defeated them.

When we build strong fortifications, we can defend ourselves against an enemy that can be not three times, but even five or six times stronger. It is necessary to build up solid fortifications properly.

In conclusion, you should keep stricter discipline in the army, struggle against corruption, fight against counter-revolutionary elements and intensify the counter-espionage struggle by maintaining the

vigilance. The enemy is plotting to destroy our army from its foundations. The Party calls for stricter revolutionary vigilance at all times. You should prevent malicious elements from infiltrating your ranks, instead of merely remaining on the alert for the sound of gunfire in south Korea.

No spy can infiltrate when there is strict discipline, when things are in perfect order and armymen have a high degree of ideological consciousness. At a place where discipline is lax, where things are in disorder, and uncontrolled acts are tolerated, it is impossible to uncover spies even though they may be active. Therefore, it is necessary to establish discipline and order and thoroughly carry out guard and garrison duties. A spy never puts a label on his forehead to indicate he is a spy, nor does he answer even if you shout, "Who is the spy?"

When strict discipline and order are enforced and the ideological system is firmly established, all negative elements can quickly be detected and exposed. Hence, the need for tightening Party discipline, strengthening the unity of the Party and intensifying vigilance.

By reinforcing our revolutionary foundations and strengthening the People's Army we will provide a

decisive guarantee for the peaceful reunification of the country. I am sure that you will do your utmost to strengthen combat capabilities of the People's Army in every possible way.

KIM IL SUNG
THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S ARMY
HAS INHERITED THE
ANTI-JAPANESE ARMED STRUGGLE

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